361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

● 344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

343 Storehouses and granaries.---A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, 251 was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with 251 many children would be tided over lean periods 122 by their neighbors, should their food become 224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

[P. 203 9] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] [343] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

The *ch'iniu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again. 344

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic. 262

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains inhabited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions. 137 222 262

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot summer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 222 262 132

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 [755] [782] The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made.

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[24]

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM):

[24] See anecdote, p. 394. [25] Informant George Dick.